

# Native Hostelries in New Zealand's Colonial Cities

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## Abstract

Historians have argued that while Māori were important players in founding and sustaining New Zealand's colonial cities, the rapid growth of the settler population saw them excluded from city space and return to tribal homelands. This article examines the marginalisation process and how the perceived threat of Māori economic power and changes in European racial theory informed it. It then argues that marginalisation was only ever partial, with Māori continuing to engage with city life in innovative ways. In doing so they not only claimed city spaces but contributed to the production of new spaces as well.

New Zealand's five colonial cities—Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin—were all built in or on pre-existing Māori settlements.<sup>1</sup> The new settler communities were generally welcomed by whānau and hapū living in or near to them, not least because they provided lucrative new possibilities for trade. Māori would regularly visit them with waka laden with fresh produce, such as pork, fish, vegetables and fruit, sourced from their gardens and food-gathering sites, to sell to eager townspeople. In return, Māori spent freely in settlers' shops, buying the likes of hardware, clothing, tobacco, and specialty goods. Historians have shown how these trading relationships were pivotal to the early growth of towns and helped to secure their prosperity.<sup>2</sup> What is less well known is the conditions visiting Māori experienced during their stay.<sup>3</sup> Whereas European visitors to a town would often stay in a hotel or boarding house, these options were not available to Māori because such places largely refused to accept them.<sup>4</sup> One explanation for the practice almost certainly lies in settler anxiety that having Māori and Pākehā sleeping under the same roof would compromise notions of European racial superiority and appropriate social intercourse—notwithstanding the reality that Māori and Pākehā couples had been sharing beds for decades.<sup>5</sup> Ideas about social class provide a further rationale. Accommodation in Western towns and cities was socially stratified by type: from grand hotels for the upper and middle classes down to basic lodging houses for workers.<sup>6</sup> Within this typology, hoteliers and boarding/lodging housekeepers probably viewed most Māori as being too socially inferior or poor to be accepted as guests.<sup>7</sup> The outcome of these conventions was that Māori visitors to towns were usually forced to camp on their outskirts or else seek shelter wherever they could, rain or shine.

This unsatisfactory state of affairs led to humanitarian calls from both settlers and Māori for the provision of Native hostelries to provide Maori visiting towns with short-term accommodation. These were subsequently erected by either central or local governments in most of New Zealand's larger or otherwise strategically important towns: Auckland, Onehunga, Tauranga, New Plymouth, Napier, Wellington, Nelson, Lyttelton, Dunedin and Bluff. I published some preliminary research on hostels established in the five colonial cities in 2016.<sup>8</sup> Of those erected outside the cities, only the Bluff hostelry has received scholarly attention. Michael J. Stevens has identified that it was erected on the Bluff waterfront in 1881 to accommodate Ngāi Tahu traders and other visitors travelling to or from Ruapuke and Stewart Island. It was replaced in 1903 by a new building further from the (now) crowded commercial port. Called Tarere ki Whenua Uta, it continued to provide Māori with short-term accommodation until the 1980s, when it became part of the Te Rau Aroha marae complex.<sup>9</sup> There is a need to build on Stevens' work and research the other provincial hostelries, but the purpose here is to further my research on those erected in the five cities.

## **Settler Colonial Cities and Indigenous Communities**

Research on the provision of hostelrys and similar accommodation for Indigenous peoples visiting towns and cities in other settler colonial societies is presently sparse. The existing literature shows that, in places like Australia and North America, Indigenous people tended to reside in their own communities either within the town or on the periphery of it, sometimes both. For example, Aboriginal communities continued to live in Sydney's Rocks area long after the 1788 British invasion. Similarly, in 1850s Seattle and Victoria (British Columbia), Native American people also resided in their own settlements in the middle of town.<sup>10</sup> Indigenous people visiting from other districts presumably stayed in these communities or camped on the edge of cities, such as the Kulin camp on the other side of Melbourne's Yarra River during the late 1830s and early 1840s.<sup>11</sup>

Historians have shown how settler colonialism marginalized these Indigenous settlements in urban space. This strategy was largely informed by European racial theory, particularly stadial theory. This asserted that humankind passed through evolutionary stages, from primitivism to civilization, and that cities were the culmination of this process. Soft racists therefore argued that exposure to city life could "improve" or modernize Indigenous peoples and facilitate their integration into civil (settler) society. Conversely, hard racists argued that Indigenous people were innately too primitive to assimilate into civil society and should therefore be excluded from it.<sup>12</sup> The improvement discourse held currency in the middle of the nineteenth century; the "white city" discourse became ascendant thereafter.<sup>13</sup> Settler communities in North America and Australia increasingly worked to remove urban and peri-urban Indigenous settlements, often violently, and forced their residents to relocate to reservations far from city limits.<sup>14</sup> In New Zealand cities, there was no forced relocation of Māori; those living in cities who left, did so of their own accord, but not necessarily happily.<sup>15</sup>

More recently, historians have begun to show that despite the exclusionary white city discourses and official (or permissive) marginalization policies, Indigenous peoples continued to engage in city life and exercise their agency or power in colonial urban space. For example, Chicago historians have shown that although the Potawatomi and other Indigenous peoples were officially expelled from the city in 1835, some of them continued to live in the city and contribute to its life. In Seattle, too, Indigenous people "insisted on inclusion in settler society."<sup>16</sup> This article is situated in this emerging body of research. I have argued elsewhere that even though ever-fewer Māori resided in cities from the 1860s, they visited them constantly and continued to claim some urban spaces as their own.<sup>17</sup> I had not previously seen Native Hostelrys as part of this process, but a re-examination of their role in colonial city life suggests that they were.

### **The First Native Hostelrys**

Nelson led the way in providing somewhere for Māori to stay in town. In 1842, Bishop Selwyn (a trustee of Nelson's Native reserves) ordered a hostelry be built on one of the reserves at Matangi Awhio (Auckland Point). This was the site of the ancient pā of Pohea, who had been the first to settle there about 1450, with successive waves of occupations thereafter.<sup>18</sup> Up to three European-styled cottages were erected to accommodate different tribal groups in the region, and a low boulder wall constructed to display fresh produce for sale to settlers. It became an important social nexus between Māori and Pākehā. An early settler William Stanton described the marketplace as "a scene of interest to both races meeting for the first time with conversation essayed under blank gesture and pantomime with much amusement and interest."<sup>19</sup> In the early 1860s, Edwin Hodder described Matangi Awhio as "two brick houses

of very unarchitectural appearance, surrounded by a motley group of natives, some busily employed in dressing flax, other sitting listlessly on the ground smoking, and all dressed in a curious combination of European costume.”<sup>20</sup> Selywn had hoped a chapel would form part of the complex, but the lack of funds from the Native reserves precluded this.



Figure 1: Nelson was the first city to build a Native hostelry. These cottages were built on Māori reserve land at Matangi Awhio (Auckland Point) from 1842. This image was painted by an unknown artist in 1846. Source: Nelson Provincial Museum, AC838.

In Auckland, George Clarke (Chief Protector of Aborigines) had proposed setting aside a site for visiting Māori from Thames in Saint George’s Bay in 1841, but nothing came of it.<sup>21</sup> By 1845, a troubled townsman noted:

They [Māori] arrive here with their produce, perhaps in rainy weather, and are often detained by contrary winds for days and even weeks, and during that time (unless indeed some solitary instance of favouritism when a few may find shelter in the out-houses of some kind person) they are obliged to swarm together in hordes upon the beach during the wet stormy nights, and sleep in the same blankets that have absorbed the rain during the day.<sup>22</sup>

Such conditions made the visitors particularly liable to the type of respiratory ailments that have contributed so much to their decline, suggested the writer. Surely a large house could be erected where visiting Māori could be sheltered from Auckland’s inclement weather?<sup>23</sup> By 1848, nothing had changed. A local newspaper condemned government inertia, asserting it was inhumane to deny Māori visitors decent accommodation. It was also a matter of fairness. “Considering the large amount of taxation which is so unfairly wrung from the natives ... it is the very least humanity can do, to employ a small portion of such revenue for the protection of the very lives which create the same.”<sup>24</sup> The following year the government finally agreed to erect a hostelry on Native reserve land at Beach Road, Mechanics Bay, where Māori and other poor visitors could temporarily stay free of charge.<sup>25</sup> (That it was for the use of poor Pākehā as well as Māori supports the before-mentioned class dimension.) The European-styled, U-

shaped, wooden building was opened in February 1850. Compartments for sleeping formed the sides of the U, with bundles of flax serving as bedding.<sup>26</sup> The U's base was a living space. To reduce the fire hazard, the government decided against including fireplaces and employed earthen floors, so all cooking was done outside. The U's middle comprised a courtyard and shelter. This was designed as a marketplace: traders could moor their waka on the beach and easily carry over their goods and wares.<sup>27</sup> A live-in custodian managed the place. Guests had to abide by a code of regulations, ranging from keeping spaces tidy, clean and free of damage to a ban on fighting, quarrelling and general disorder. As well as maintaining public health, the regulations had a racial improvement objective.



Figure 2: Waka moored on the beach below Waipapa (right) about 1860.  
Source: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 4-2730.

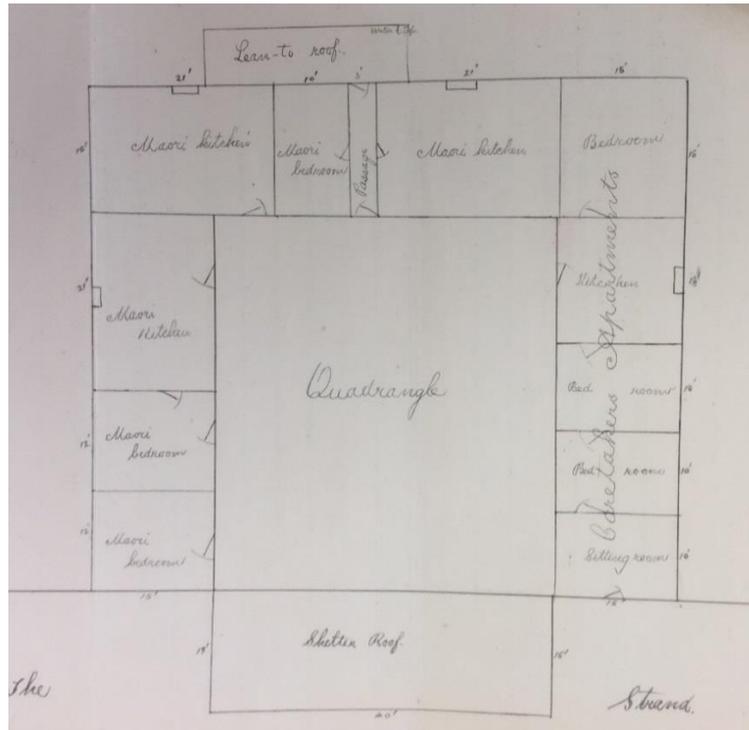


Figure 3: The Waipapa floorplan as sketched in 1897. Rooms opened onto a central quadrangle, with the custodian (Mrs Devally) occupying the right wing of the building.

Source: Archives New Zealand, AAMK W3074 869 Box 1118/a.

As one supporter noted, the rules and the “habits of order and carefulness” they promote “cannot fail to have a good *educational* influence on a people in a transition state from barbarism to civilization, and,—like the natives of this country,—apt and willing to learn whatever is calculated to raise them nearer the European level.”<sup>28</sup> In 1851, the government secured the institution’s future by setting aside reserve lands as an endowment for its benefit.<sup>29</sup> Māori called the place after the bay in which it was located: Waipapa.<sup>30</sup>

By the mid-1850s, Waipapa was Auckland’s main fresh produce market.<sup>31</sup> Townspeople flocked there to buy anything from bundles of snapper (fish) to kete (woven baskets) of peaches, or else they purchased from the many Māori hawkers who went door to door through the town.<sup>32</sup> The bustle and animation of the exchange made Waipapa one of “most interesting places near Auckland,” wrote John Askew. He had seen 50 large canoes pulled up on the beach, heaving with potatoes, corn, pigs, fish and firewood. Attending them were two to three hundred Māori of both sexes.<sup>33</sup>

During the day, Askew described the scene as picturesque, but after dark the view became more primordial. Walking down from Parnell:

a most enchanting night-scene was unfolded before me. The darkness of the night, lit up by the lurid fires of the trading Maories reflected by the waters of the bay—the fantastic forms of their numerous canoes—the dark outlines of their curious tents—and the wierd [sic] look of their sombre figures, as they moved to and fro, or sat singing round the fires—all conspired to produce an impressive spectacle of the wildest grandeur.<sup>34</sup>

Askew noted that most traders stayed in tents, using the hostelry only to store their produce. This seems remarkable, but simply reflected the fact that it was too small to accommodate

everyone. Poor living arrangements were another reason. Within two years of opening, the Native Secretary Charles Nugent was receiving complaints about the building: the dirt floor was impossible to keep clean, it was cold in winter due to the fire ban, it was rife with vermin, and the lack of partitions (specified in the original plan) meant tribes could not be kept apart. Nugent told his superiors that Māori had requested that a wooden floor, fireplaces and a cooking area be installed out the back. The renovations were subsequently carried out, including the provision of internal partitions.<sup>35</sup>

### **Wellington Hostelry**

In 1856, the colonial government approved £500 for the erection of a Native hostelry in Wellington.<sup>36</sup> The town was different to both Nelson and Auckland in still having Māori settlements in its midst: Te Aro (Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui) and Pipitea pā (Te Āti Awa). Māori visitors to Wellington often stayed at one or another place. Things might have continued this way except for the fact that members of the settler community were beginning to see the pā as blights on the townscape. One of the tenets of Wakefield's systematic colonisation was the stadial idea that city life would improve Māori and encourage their integration into civil society. This understanding had informed the provision of the Tenths or Native reserves in the town where Māori would live; the idea being that Māori would adopt social practices and behaviours of townspeople and become civilised.<sup>37</sup> While Māori embraced some settler practices, like the money economy, they resisted others. This included living in nuclear family groups in single dwellings on individual fenced sections, preferring instead to live communally in pā and papakainga. This affronted those settlers who saw such living arrangements as primitive and even immoral (mainly due to the custom of mixed-sex sleeping).

Settlers also criticised the physical state of the two pā and their inhabitants. In an 1850 report on Wellington's Māori settlements, the Native Secretary Henry Tacy Kemp counted 96 residents at the Pipitea pā. While noting some European wooden cottages had been built and leased to settlers, the "Pa itself and the huts are much out of repair," and mortality rates were high. Similarly, the dwellings in Te Aro pā were "in a state of dilapidation," and Kemp described the 186 residents as "far from being healthy." To improve conditions, a government surveyor had proposed building a modern village with regular streets and houses on the site, but the scheme was stillborn. Kemp attributed this outcome to the fact the pā was a place of transience, with many visitors but few permanent residents to drive through the necessary changes.<sup>38</sup> In other words, in settlers' eyes the pā failed to express the improving and civilizing attributes of city life and were therefore an unsuitable place for visitors to stay.

As in Auckland, the government provision of the Wellington hostelry was a means to model European living arrangements in the hope that it would have an improving influence on visiting Māori. Not everyone welcomed the new amenity. The politician William Fox had formerly praised the potential of cities to civilize Māori, but now promoted the white city line that Māori were incapable of improvement and city life in fact degraded them.<sup>39</sup> He warned Parliament that it was "voting money for the creation of a public nuisance, which would tend to merely engender immorality, filth and pestilence in the centre of the city." The Nelson hostelry was "a beastly den of contamination, and the one at Mechanics' Bay a flea-depot, a filth engendering plague-nursery—in short, the greatest disgrace possible to a civilized community." His colleague Frederick Clifford agreed, and predicted the hostelry would cheapen adjacent property values and "drive all respectable people from its neighbourhood."<sup>40</sup> The hyperbolic warnings proved hollow; neither plague nor white flight eventuated.

The Wellington hostelry was erected at the northern end of Molesworth Street and opened in 1856. The site had been part of the original Wellington Tenths (Māori reserves) of 1840, but was then alienated under the 1847 McCleverty settlement, the final Crown allocation of lands for Māori in the Wellington area. The hostelry saw Māori return to the site. The 16-room wooden building was about twice as big as Waipapa. It was similarly utilitarian and architecturally plain, albeit with minor Neo-Georgian stylistic references. It was laid out on an H-plan, its two gabled wings or ends facing Molesworth Street. Its most distinguishing feature was a wide veranda which ran along all but the southern side of the building. Such a capacious amenity was unusual in Wellington buildings and might have been an attempt to provide Māori with a semi-outdoor space for them to sit and socialise on, in the manner of a paepae (the threshold of a meeting house). One account tells of Māori sitting on the veranda in groups “weaving mats, making kits, or polishing taiahas, while a pot of savoury kai was simmering nearby.”<sup>41</sup> Although no floor plan of the building is known to exist, photographs show it had chimneys in each wing, indicative of cooking and leisure spaces. It too had an in-house custodian to ensure guests were well behaved and the building kept in good order. Unlike the Nelson hostelry and Waipapa, no market place was provided for Māori and townspeople to trade, probably due to its distance from shoreline landing places.

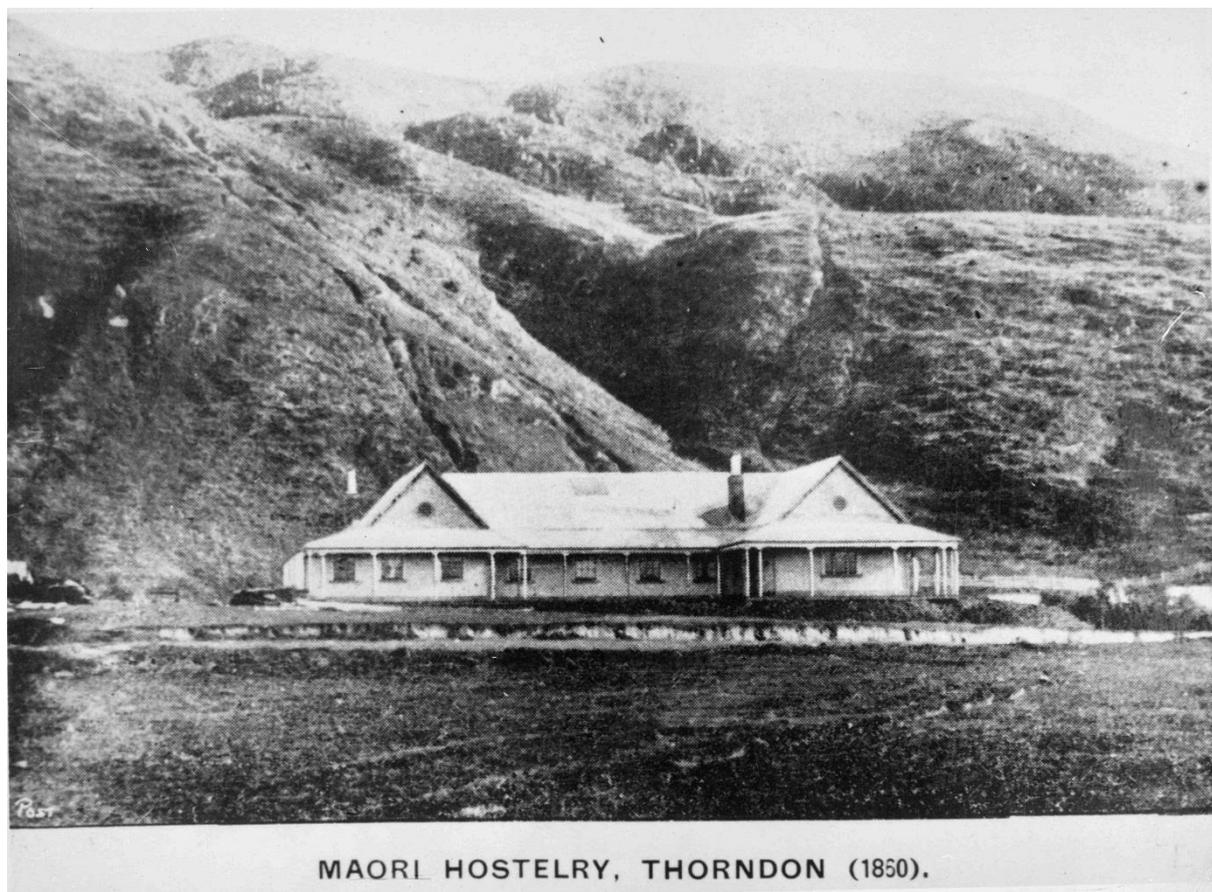


Figure 4. The Wellington Native hostelry photographed soon after its completion in 1856. The image date is wrong. It sits below the once lushly forested Ahumairangi hill.  
Source: Wellington City Archives, 00233:10:1884/913.

Little is known about who stayed or what went on there. Its most famous guest was Ngātau Omahuru, son of Hinewai and Te Karere Omahuru of Ngā Ruahine. He was captured by the Crown during the New Zealand Wars at the age of six and spent three years in the hostelry before being informally adopted by Premier William Fox—the hostelry’s afore-mentioned critic—and his wife Sarah. They renamed him William. He trained as a law clerk, and in 1878 returned to Taranaki and was reunited with his family.<sup>42</sup>

A glimpse of life within the building is revealed in an official complaint lodged by its custodian, Richard Booth, concerning “irregularities” occurring in the place during August and September 1871. The subject of the complaint was a man called Hirini who, on returning from Ōtaki, had claimed one of the hostelry’s rooms for himself “so he could have a woman in whenever he chooses.” Booth had recently caught a Māori woman, with whom Hirini was in a relationship, in the corridor and ordered her out. But it was easy for her and others to slip into the building because he had to keep the doors open overnight so guests could use the outside toilet. Due to the fullness of his work day, he was unable to monitor nocturnal activity as well, he said. He had therefore decided to place another guest, Ngāpaka, in Hirini’s room to keep a check on him. Hirini had strongly protested the move, and during the day he had stolen the room key and locked Ngāpaka out. On finding another key, Booth went to unlock the door, meeting Hirini’s lover on the way. As he wrote, “I can’t remain in charge of a house of ill fame, as I am afraid they will try and make thus if there is not some provision made to put a stop to those scenes to which I have alluded.” In response, a Sergeant Henshaw of the Armed Constabulary visited the hostelry at 11pm on 25 September and “found a number of women in the house and many of the Natives were worse for drink.”<sup>43</sup> This led the Defence Office to institute a regime where a member of the Armed Constabulary would visit the hostelry at irregular hours overnight and “with the assistance of a native constable turn out any native found drunk or otherwise abusing the hospitality of the Government.”<sup>44</sup> It is unknown if the strategy worked, but it certainly speaks to the state’s surveillance of Māori lives in urban settings.

The incident suggests some resistance to the moralising mission of the Native hostelries. In Māori society, pre-marital sex held no stigma.<sup>45</sup> Hirini therefore felt he had every right to sleep with his woman friend in the privacy of a hostelry room. But such an arrangement contravened the Pākehā stricture that sexual relations should only occur within marriage. While this had never stopped many Pākehā from engaging in pre- or extra-marital sex, such behaviour was perceived as immoral and associated with the lewdness of brothels, hence Booth’s desire to stamp out bawdy behaviours to protect the hostelry’s reputation. The other thing the incident suggests is that at least some living in the building were long term guests, like Ngātau Omahuru. That Hirini was returning from Ōtaki implies that he had been living there before. While the intent of Native hostelries was to provide Māori with accommodation for fleeting visits to town, the Wellington building also seemingly accommodated those seeking longer stays, almost certainly for city-based work opportunities. Further, the person who observed Māori gathered on the veranda also said most of them belonged to the Te Ati Awa tribe.<sup>46</sup> If this was indeed the case then we might see the hostelry as an informal extension of nearby Pipitea pā, a casual reassertion of mana whenua (proprietary rights) over a site that before 1840 had been within the pā environs.<sup>47</sup>

### **The Southern Cities**

It was Māori themselves who pushed for Native hostelries in Dunedin and Christchurch. In 1854, the Ngāi Tahu chief Pōtiki and 106 other Māori, presumably all Ngāi Tahu, petitioned the Otago provincial superintendent William Cargill to build a place of shelter for their use on the Dunedin foreshore out of funds set aside for Native purposes.<sup>48</sup> Cargill initiated plans for a

Native hostelry, but these soon became stuck in bureaucratic mire. By 1857, the lack of progress prompted one newspaper to declare Dunedin's God-fearing reputation would ring hollow so long as Māori women continued to spend nights "huddled and shivering upon the open beach, with the thermometer below freezing point, exposed to the rain and snow." It noted Māori wanted a hostelry as much to keep them safe from Europeans as to give them shelter from the elements. Women sleeping on the beach were often woken by vagabonds "and by them plied with intoxicating drink for the most debasing and foul purposes." It was high time "that something was done to show the native population that we regard them with more than good-hearted indifference."<sup>49</sup> In 1858, the colonial government stepped in to build the hostel itself. The Colonial Treasurer Christopher Richmond asked for Cargill to provide a beachfront site with a suitable landing place on Native reserve land between High and Jetty streets; the chosen site was beside the Survey and Superintendents office on Princes Street.<sup>50</sup>



Figures 5 and 6. The Dunedin Native hostelry opened in 1860 on Princes St, just south of High St. It is visible in the centre of Figure 5, albeit slightly hidden behind a mound. Figure 6 is a detail of the hostelry, which features a gabled porch. Māori traders sold fresh produce and fish to townspeople in the grounds. Source: Toitou Otago Settlers Museum, 68\_42-1 and 68\_6-1.



The building was completed in February 1860. It was not much bigger than a typical settler cottage, comprising two rooms: a communal living/sleeping area and a storehouse. It also had a gabled entrance porch with decorative bargeboards, an architectural embellishment in an otherwise plain design. Inside, there were four tiers of bunks with three bed places, a fireplace with a large hearth for cooking, and a central table and two benches. The structure was built of Caversham stone with a gabled corrugated iron roof and wooden floors of Baltic pine.<sup>51</sup> The hostelry became a popular marketplace in the town, a place to buy barracouta, crayfish, eel and flounder. However, its presence in the townscape was fleeting. In 1865, it was removed for the widening of Princes Street and not replaced. The outcome showed a successful reassertion of spatial power by the local settler elite, who had largely opposed the place being built but had been overridden by central government.<sup>52</sup>

Ngāi Tahu in Canterbury hoped to replicate the success of their southern relatives. On 12 December, 1860, tribal representatives from Kaiapoi, Rāpaki and Port Levy petitioned Canterbury's Provincial Council to build a Native hostelry in Christchurch. As the petitioners noted: “[f]or we have no resting place. The evil of this is manifest. When we have to pass through [Christchurch], some are obliged to sleep under the hedges by the roadside, others go [to] the public houses and expend their money on spirits to their hurt.” The group asked that the Crown “promise that we should be treated as brethren, as one people be fulfilled.” They had done much to assist their “European friends” and now it was time for settlers to return the favour. They urged the Council to “[f]ollow the example of Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Dunedin, where houses have long been erected. This is the only town without a resting place.” The petition was signed by the Kaiapoi chief, Ihaia Taihewa and 50 others.<sup>53</sup>

It was a compelling case. The call to be treated as brethren was perhaps a reference to Governor William Hobson's “one people” proclamation made at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi two decades before. However, it was more likely a reference to the 1857 petition penned by Ngāi Tahu chief Matiaha Tiramōrehu where he asked “That the law be made one, the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just as equal with the dark skin.”<sup>54</sup> Settlers would not have been left to shelter under hedges, so why should Māori? Further, all the other cities had provided hostelries so it was time Christchurch followed suit. The petition was presented to and received by the Council on 19 December. The proposed site for a hostelry was the Native reserve in Hagley Park. On 26 December, Council member John Ollivier moved the following motion in the chamber: “That in the opinion of the Council it is expedient to provide a hostelry for the Maori population on the site set apart for their use in Hagley Park.”<sup>55</sup> It appears the Christmas Day spirit of goodwill to all people did

not extend to Boxing Day, for the motion was lost nine to seven. This time the central government did not intervene, leaving Christchurch as the only city without a Native hostelry. Five years later, such an institution was built in Lyttelton's Dampier Bay, but as with the Dunedin structure it was short lived, the building being moved to, and repurposed as part of, the town's orphanage, in 1878.<sup>56</sup>

### **Wellington Hostelry's Demise**

The Wellington hostelry remained open until early 1880, when the new Native Affairs minister John Bryce closed it as part of his scheme to reduce his department's expenditure. He also ended the traditional government hospitality to chiefs visiting the capital on tribal and government business. It had been the custom for this group to either stay at the hostelry or the Ministerial residence, the government footing the bill for their meals, entertainment and accommodation. Bryce's cost cutting didn't go down well with those it had served. Te Keepa Rangihwinui (Major Kemp) was livid. He had served with Crown forces during the 1860s wars, with distinction, and (rightly) saw the measures as a slight to his dignity or mana.<sup>57</sup> He contemptuously denounced the loss of hospitality or manākitanga as the act of a "poaka" (pig). Bryce's stance toward Māori had long been pig-headed, and Te Keepa's protestations predictably failed to move him.

On hearing of the closure, the Wellington City Council asked the government whether they could use the building to rehouse some old and infirm paupers from Wellington Hospital, but it declined on the grounds that it needed the space to accommodate an overflow of public servants from Government Buildings.<sup>58</sup> It subsequently housed the Native Department, including judges of the Native Land Court and the Commissioner of Native Reserves, as well as some police constables and their families.<sup>59</sup> This use came to an end around 1890, when the building was demolished and the site sold for private housing.<sup>60</sup> (In 1969 these were destroyed and the site excavated and trenched for the city's urban motorway.) Perhaps not coincidentally, the hostelry's demolition happened about the same time as Te Aro and Pipitea pā were in terminal decline. This outcome was a culmination of a long-running settler campaign to integrate the pā into the settler townscape, and when that didn't work, to alienate the land from its owners by individualising land titles and encouraging sales. The process led to the gradual depopulation of the pā to the point where they became unviable and ceased to exist.<sup>61</sup>



Figure 7: A view across Thorndon in 1871. The Native hostelry is visible in the middle-right of the image. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, PAColl-4483-3.

The Wellington hostelry's closure did not mean the need for such an amenity had passed. Māori visitors to the city thereafter complained about the lack of places for them to stay. For instance, in March 1908, the Waitotara chief Wiremu Kaiuki protested that having arrived in Wellington for a Native Land Court sitting, he was offered a hotel room (due to being well known), but his accompanying party had to sleep at Lambton railway station. Considering the great number of Māori who came to Wellington on government-related business—visitors who spent up large in the city—Kaiuki said it was high time the state provided somewhere for them to stay.<sup>62</sup> In August, a petition bearing the name of 50 “chiefs and chieftainesses” from around the country was presented to the Native Minister, James Carroll (nō Ngāti Kahungunu). A leading Māori figure in the city, Tare (Charlie) Parata (Pratt) (nō Ngāi Tahu), stated it was “extremely difficult” for Māori to find lodgings in Wellington. He had taken many visitors to his own home because they'd been turned away from hotels. The petition urged the government to address the issue urgently, and even pointed to a suitable 20-room house in Sydney Street that could be bought for the purpose. There was also enough room on the half-acre property to build a wharepuni for hui (meetings) and up to 200 guests.<sup>63</sup> The proposal envisaged a proto-urban marae and seemed eminently sensible, but the Liberal government failed to pursue it, perhaps fearing a bourgeois backlash to such a place surfacing in high-end Thorndon. Its lack of action in the face of such palpable need also suggested it adhered to white city discourses. Subsequent governments seemingly agreed. Māori calls for a new hostelry in Wellington continued to be made well into the 1930s, with no material effect.<sup>64</sup>

### **Matangi Awhio Rebuilt, and Waipapa Deteriorates**

Things took a different turn in Nelson. There, the hostelry's endowments protected it from government budget cuts. In 1888, the Matangi Awhio complex of houses were demolished and replaced with a new five-room house on the same site.<sup>65</sup> It now had a live-in custodian and visitors could stay for a week at a time. The place also served as a *de facto* Māori hospital (presumably Nelson Hospital excluded Māori). Patients were treated by local doctors and each

was permitted one friend or relative to nurse them.<sup>66</sup> A 1919 government report described the building as being “in very good order,” with hot and cold running water and “one bedstead for sick patients”—others slept on mattresses on the floor. The report writer thought two more bedsteads should be provided because visitors “are fairly Europeanised ... [and] I think they should have bedsteads.”<sup>67</sup> The sentiment was charitable, but latently racist: were non-Europeanised Māori unworthy of bedsteads? In 1924, government alienated the Matangi Awhio reserve land for the Auckland Point Primary School. The hostelry remained on the site until 1949, when the Health department closed it.<sup>68</sup>

Waipapa’s endowments also protected it from government cuts, but a lack of regular maintenance meant that by 1890 it was in danger of collapse.<sup>69</sup> Its function as a produce market had ended in 1868, when a new “Maori market” was opened at the bottom of Queen Street, and it now provided accommodation only.<sup>70</sup> The building’s custodian, Mrs V. H. Devally, estimated that “at least eight thousand” Māori from all over the North Island had used the hostelry during her tenure. But she conceded the place was in a state of disrepair: “The Natives have never expressed any objection to the present site, but the Hostelry is generally considered by them as unfit for habitation.”<sup>71</sup> An 1895 inspection found that the foundations were rotten, the joists and shingle roof needed renewing, and the whole place was “tumbling over.”<sup>72</sup> This led to remedial work being made in 1898. The Public Trustee’s district agent, E. F. Warren, reported that Māori had welcomed the improvements, although one had quietly mentioned to him that Devally took “too much the wai-piro” (alcohol), leading Warren to recommend that she be replaced.<sup>73</sup>

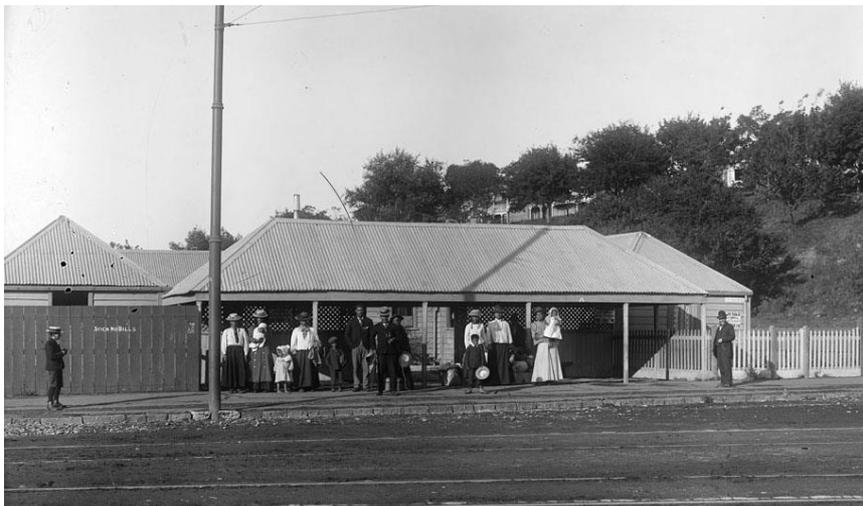


Figure 8: Fashionably-dressed Māori stand outside Waipapa shortly before its demolition in 1903.

They were probably waiting for a tram to take them into the city centre.

Source: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 1-W1540.

### “Big Billy” Matthews

Devally was replaced in 1901, when Joseph Thorpe and his wife (name unknown) became the new custodians. The change did not go down well with all. In November, the Public Trustee received a letter from Horata Tuhaere (wife of the late Ngāti Whatua chief Paora Tuhaere) and nine others claiming that Thorpe had unfairly expelled two people and was an unsuitable person for the position. The letter asked that Mrs Devally be reappointed and that a reply be addressed to Mr W. Matthews.<sup>74</sup> The Public Trustee asked Warren to investigate the matter. Warren reported back that Thorpe had recently expelled “Big Billy” Matthews from Waipapa after a litany of complaints from other Māori. These included: engaging in immoral conduct; being drunk; encouraging low-class European visitors, some of whom stole from guests; and

endangering the lives of others by never extinguishing his bedside candle. Devally had permitted long-term stays. Matthews had been living there for four years, occupied the largest room, and considered himself the boss of the place. He spent his days loafing about the place or at the Waitemata Hotel.<sup>75</sup>

Warren's report incorporated statements from Thorpe and three Māori complainants. Hohua Parekowhai had lived at Waipapa for nine months and had welcomed Thorpe's arrival. Devally had often been drunk and had "neglected everything about the premises ... [allowing visitors] to do as they liked whether it was right or wrong." Whereas she had ignored Billy's candle, Thorpe had made him put it out. Hohua had seen European women drunk in Billy's room (the implication was they were prostitutes), and that fisherman and others often slept there. He stated that respectable Māori approved of the Billy's expulsion.<sup>76</sup> Seventeen-year-old Lottie Hou had also seen Devally drunk and European women in Billy's room. Billy swore constantly and had on "several occasions stripped off all his clothing and sat smoking, stark naked, in the room. This is not countenanced by decent Maories who never expose themselves before women in this manner," declared Lottie.<sup>77</sup> Rawinia Mihaka had stayed in the hostelry for five years and she too had seen European women in Billy's room: "Matthews was a filthy man, and his habits and language disgusted me and other Maories," she said. Rawinia noted that Billy had served two prison sentences and that "all the Maories regarded him as a thief."<sup>78</sup> In his statement, Thorpe also decried Billy's bad habits. These included expectorating inside, urinating through a hole in the building's floor, and openly defecating in the yard. It was this behaviour that led other Māori to petition Thorpe to expel Billy. As he left, he swore to get Thorpe removed as caretaker.<sup>79</sup> In concluding his report, Warren warned his superior that if Billy returned, many Māori would stop using the hostelry. He and his associates had turned it into "little more than a brothel." The Public Trustee subsequently approved of Thorpe's actions.<sup>80</sup>

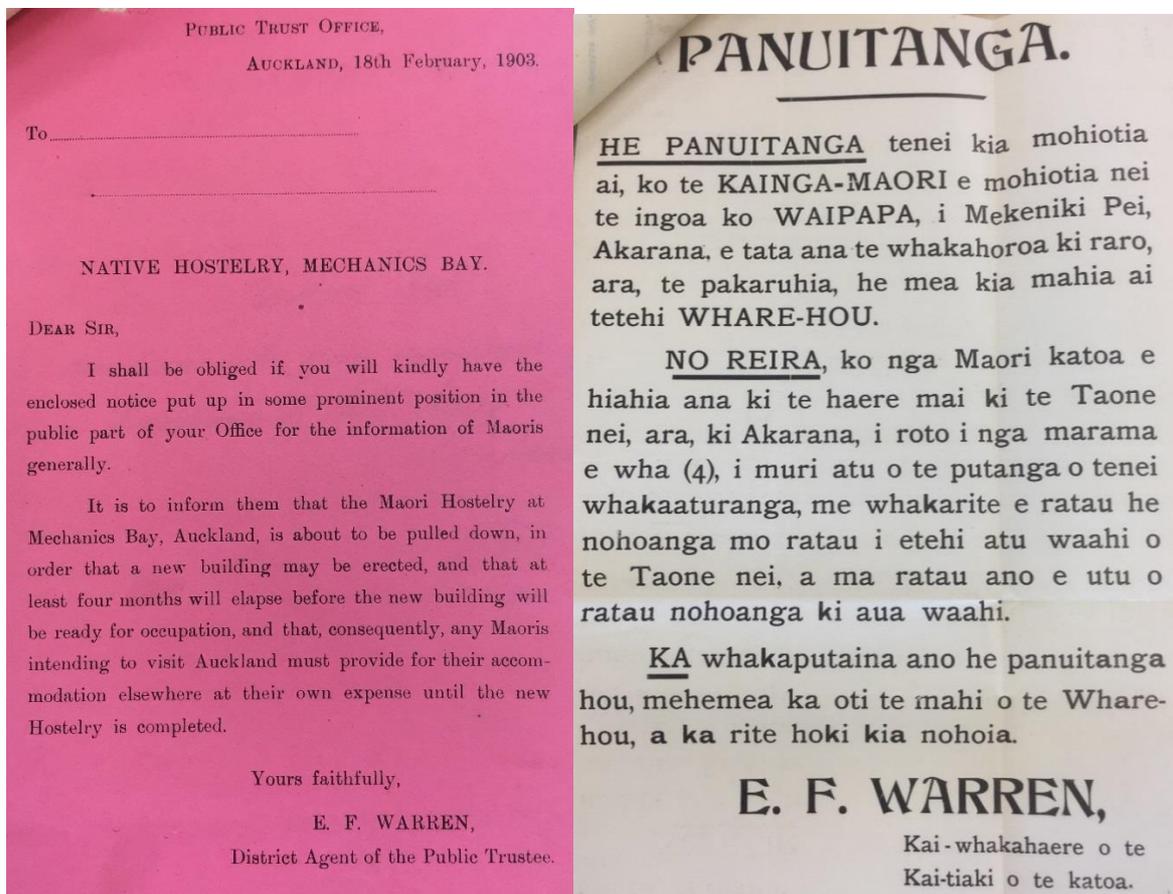
The Billy episode has a parallel with the Hirini incident at the Wellington hostelry 30 years before. There too one resident had sought to impose his own will on the hostelry, meeting resistance from its Pākehā custodian, who viewed his sexual liaisons as immoral and damaging to the institution's reputation. The difference this time was that opposition to Billy originated with fellow Māori residents. They saw him as a dissolute figure who had to be removed to ensure Waipapa remained a respectable (in Pākehā and tikanga Māori terms) and safe place for Māori to stay. They made their position known to Thorpe, who then acted on their behalf. The outcome suggests Māori viewed Waipapa as a place they could call their own; a space where their social and cultural norms or tikanga prevailed. Billy was expelled for disrespecting *these* norms.

There is a postscript to the story. In January 1902, Horata Tuhaere visited Warren and said she had never written the letter complaining of Thorpe and was "greatly incensed at this impudent and unauthorised use of her name." She insisted that she had no complaint against Thorpe. It turned out that Billy had written the letter and forged her name and those of the other signatories to deliver on his threat to get Thorpe fired. It also explains the letter's directive to reply to Williams. Warren thought Billy deserved three months in Mount Eden prison "for his rascality."<sup>81</sup>

### **Rebuilding Waipapa**

The notion of Waipapa as a Māori space was reinforced in 1903, when the old building was finally demolished and rebuilt. The new and larger brick building mirrored the previous hostelry's U-shape plan, with the structure being sited around a central quadrangle. This time,

the architects more fully considered Māori living arrangements. As Warren explained, the building had several large rooms “where the Natives belonging to different tribes can live together and cook for themselves.” There were also smaller rooms where women with children could stay. Further, “ample verandahs are provided under which the Natives can squat protected from the heat in summer, and the rain in winter.”<sup>82</sup> Lockers and shelving for food storage were also supplied, and an ablution block with Water Closets (WCs) was built outside. Warren had assumed Thorpe would continue as the custodian, but the Native Minister James Carrol insisted a Māori should take up the position, with Retimana Poroumati of the Native Land Court and his wife being appointed. Having learnt some lessons from the Billy Matthews episode, Poroumati was instructed to keep the place clean, allow no intoxicants, prohibit European loafers, prevent damage to the building, and enforce temporary stays.<sup>83</sup> There were a few teething issues, from smoking chimneys to damage to the WC’s—Warren said visitors were reluctant to use them—but these were sorted and a regular maintenance regime instituted. In 1908, he reported several thousand Māori were using the hostelry each year, with up to 70 to 100 visitors staying at one time.<sup>84</sup>



Figures 9 and 10: During Waipapa’s rebuild the government sent this poster to all rural post offices, advising Māori of the hostelry’s temporary closure.

Source: Archives New Zealand, AAMK W3074 869 Box 1118/c.

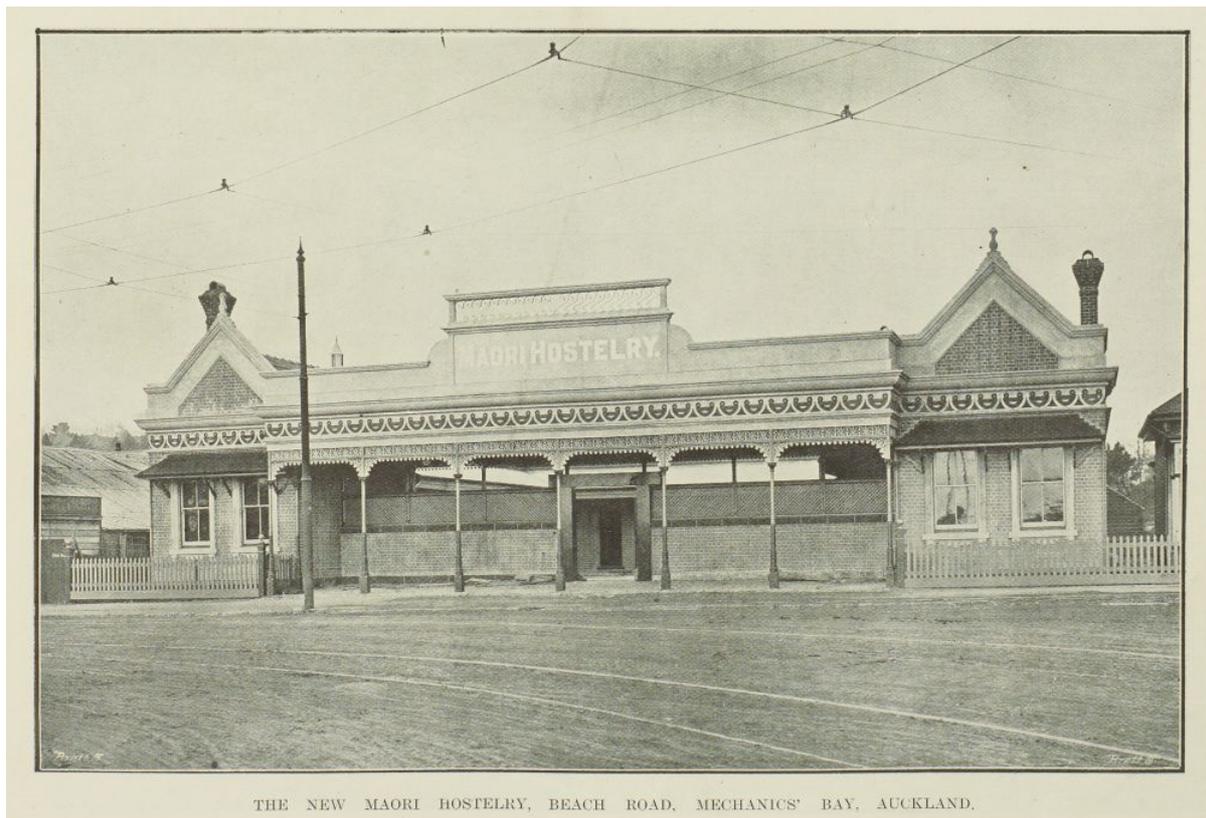


Figure 11. The rebuilt Waipapa, 12 September, 1903.  
 Source: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZG-19030912-759-2.

By this time, it was apparent that the mixed cooking and living arrangements were not working. As Warren explained:

most of the Maori food consists of fish, dried shark in a high matured condition, pipis and potatoes, the smell arising from the aromatic mixture is an irresistible attraction to countless millions of flies, which blacken the walls and ceilings, contaminate the food, and in a short time render the interior insanitary and disgusting.<sup>85</sup>

He therefore asked that a cookhouse or *whare-kai* be erected out the back. The brick cookhouse would include a large open fire and a two-oven cooking range. An adjacent galvanized building would be used as a dining room; food would be banned from the main building, which would be reserved for sleeping only. This would keep the place “reasonably sweet and clean.”<sup>86</sup> The request was approved and the *whare kai* built.<sup>87</sup>

The provision of the new amenities meant Waipapa began to resemble a traditional Māori settlement, where buildings and spaces served specific functions: meeting, cooking, sleeping, ablutions and so on. On some occasions, Waipapa even resembled a *marae*. In February 1909, a *tangihanga* for the parliamentarian Hone Heke Ngapuha was held there, his coffin being laid in a tent erected in the grounds. Local Ngāti Whatua chiefs, as *mana whenua*, welcomed visitors and paid their respects to him before the funeral cortege left the hostelry for his final *tangihanga* and burial at Kaikohe.<sup>88</sup>

During the long trial of the Ngāi Tūhoe prophet Rua Kēnana in 1916, about 60 of his kin resided at the hostelry. A young Elsie K. Morton (later a prominent journalist) visited the “little native colony” during their winter stay. Arriving at supper time:

the penetrating odour of fish was heavy in the air. In a little brick cook-house at the back of the hostel the evening meal was in course of preparation, and various large pots steamed and bubbled vigorously over a big open fire. It was a cheery, homely scene: close to the warmth of the fire, an old woman sat on a mat and puffed at her pipe in typical Maori fashion, the red glow showing up in the dark, tattooed [sic] features, coarse black hair, and bright hued blouse. Three or four young wahines chatted and gesticulated vigorously in conversation with their men folk, who smoked stolidly in pauses of the conversation. Half-a-dozen solemn-eyed pickanninies crawled on all fours from out dark corners to have a look at the intruder.<sup>89</sup>

The representation is stereotypical and sentimental, but nonetheless vividly conveys the intergenerational sociability of Māori food preparation, reinforcing the importance of tikanga at Waipapa. Morton states that visitors were divided into two groups: those in town on business and those on pleasure. Numbers increased in summer and came from across the province. Visitors ranged from “old folk from far off pa or village who can hardly speak or understand English” to “young men and women well versed on pakeha ways.”<sup>90</sup>



HOME FOR ITINERANT MAORIS: TWO PICTURES AT THE HOSTELRY IN PARNELL  
 Visiting Maoris may obtain free accommodation while in Auckland at the Maori Hostelry at the corner of Gittos and Churchill Streets. Upper: Leisure time in the hostelry. Lower: A party of Maoris arriving for a stay. Efforts are being made to provide a similar institution at Hamilton, where Maoris have recently been refused accommodation at hotels and boarding houses.

Figure 12. These 1938 newspaper photographs highlight how Waipapa accommodated Māori visitors from across the generations. The upper image shows children listening to a story read by a kuia; the lower shows a group of men arriving for a stay. The reference to Hamilton concerns a contemporary, but ultimately unsuccessful, campaign to have a hostelry built in that city.  
 Source: *New Zealand Herald*, 10 September, 1938, 10.

With the rise of the Rātana movement in the 1920s, Waipapa became a stopping point for Māori travelling between Rātana pā, near Whanganui, and Northland. By the late 1930s, up to 3,000 Māori were staying there each year.<sup>91</sup> A 1944 newspaper report on the facility, titled “Maoris’ Home Away From Home,” saw the space as a fusion of the old and new: “Waipapa, with its communal kitchen and its courtyard, preserves for the Maori, amid the bustling scenes of the modern city, something of his ancient associations and enables him to meet others of his race in traditional manner.”<sup>92</sup> In providing space for the pursuit of tikanga within cities, Waipapa and its fellow Native hostelrys were arguably the first urban marae—usually seen as a mid-twentieth-century initiative.

In 1955, the *New Zealand Herald* revealed that Waipapa had become dilapidated, describing it as a “blot on the face of Auckland.” A social worker labelled the place a “dungeon.” There was no furniture in some rooms; guests slept on mattresses on the floor; a wood-fired coal range was the only cooking facility; water had to be drawn from an outside tap; and electricity was only used for lighting. With parties of schoolchildren staying there for up to a week, the place created “a bad impression of city life and the provisions made for Maoris in Auckland.” In response, the Māori Trustee, Mr T. Ropiha, explained that plans were afoot to renovate the place or completely rebuild it.<sup>93</sup> However, by this time the need for it was declining. With many Māori from outside Auckland now moving to the city to work and live—as *mātawaka*—state and religious agencies were providing hostel accommodation for young single Māori men and women. Māori couples and families were also moving into houses and flats in inner city suburbs like Freeman’s Bay; city visitors were thus often able to stay with friends or whanau. Waipapa was therefore living on borrowed time. This ran out in 1966, when the building was summarily demolished, for a proposed but unbuilt motorway ramp. A witness watched the massive timber portal emblazoned with “Waipapa” and the large entranceway “rules and regulations” board being removed before the building too disappeared. Referencing the now landlocked Mechanic’s Bay, the observer recorded: “‘Waipapa’ the house, like Waipapa the bay, was no more.”<sup>94</sup>



Figure 13. In 2017, the Waipapa site was a carpark and subject to a Treaty of Waitangi claim.  
Source: Ben Schrader.

In 2017, the site of the hostelry was a carpark. This and the surrounding land (the original Mechanics Bay Native Reserve) had been vested in the Crown in 2005 as part of a Treaty of Waitangi land settlement process.<sup>95</sup> Both Ngāti Whātua and Ngāti Paoa have claimed ownership over the site, and the issue was unresolved at the time of writing. When this happens, it would be fitting to mark the role of Waipapa in providing a place for tens of thousands of Māori to stay in Auckland over its 116 years of existence, perhaps with a pou.<sup>96</sup>

### **Conclusion**

In my earlier research, I concluded that the sluggish provision of Native hostelries was due to settlers' conflicted view about the place of Māori in settler colonial cities. Opposition to hostelries and the social practice of refusing Māori accommodation in hotels and boarding houses reflected the hard racist ("white city") conviction that Māori belonged outside civil society. Conversely, the erection of European-style hostel buildings and the rules over their use mirrored the soft racist belief that Māori could transition into civil society. Both scenarios held to the premise that it was settlers who exercised power in city space and that Māori who ventured into it were powerless.<sup>97</sup> While I still think that settlers were conflicted about the place of Māori in city life, a revised reading of the Native hostelries provides further evidence that Māori negotiated colonial city space.

The erection of Native hostelries had both utilitarian and moral objectives: to provide much-needed shelter for Māori visiting town and to facilitate their racial "improvement" by obliging them follow European codes of behaviour during their stay. Māori who used the hostelries certainly abided by some of these rules, but tended to disregard those that contravened tikanga or made no sense to them. What is most striking about these institutions, however, is how Māori made them their own. Rather than turning visiting Māori more European-like, the visitors changed these European spaces into Māori ones, becoming proto-urban marae. In Dunedin and Lyttelton their existence was fleeting; in Nelson and Auckland they stood for decades. In 2017, only the second Bluff Native hostelry remains, as part of Te Rau Aroha Marae.<sup>98</sup> Whether other settler colonial societies had similar institutions awaits further research, but the New Zealand experience with Native hostelries adds to the growing body of scholarship showing how Indigenous peoples exercised levels of agency in settler colonial cities, despite, and in repudiation of, the white city discourses of settler colonialism.

To some extent, Elsie K. Morton's description of Waipapa as a little colony is apt. In settler colonialism, the founding of towns or colonies was an early step in New Zealand's colonization. The towns began as pockets of European spatial power within Māori controlled hinterlands, but for the settlers these bridgeheads signified a territorial claim over a wider landscape. It was from these fledgling settlements that settlers went out to alienate Māori hinterlands for their own ends. However, the Native hostelries could function as pockets of Māori spatial power within Pākehā controlled cities, and in their own way signified a Māori territorial claim over a wider landscape. It was from these places that many Māori went out to experience city life, learning to negotiate urban space and modify it where they could, a process that continues in modern times. We might therefore view the Native hostelries as limiting colonialism and as an early step in the decolonization of New Zealand.

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<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to a referee for this article who made both insightful and pertinent comments that significantly improved it.

<sup>2</sup> Hazel Petrie, “Māori Enterprise: Ships and Flourmills,” in Ian Hunter and Diana Morrow, eds, *City of Enterprise: Perspectives on Auckland Business History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), 43; Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities 1840–1920* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 173–74.

<sup>3</sup> The focus of analysis here is on Māori visiting towns and less on the pre-existing Māori settlements within or near to them, such as the Ngāti Whātua settlement at Ōkahu Bay or the Ngāi Tahu settlement at Ōtākou. The relationships between these settlements and the towns would be a fascinating research topic.

<sup>4</sup> Such was the universality of the practice that its rationale appears to have been unquestioned. In examining scores of primary documents about Native hostels, none explicitly revealed why Māori could not be accommodated in existing hotels and boarding houses.

<sup>5</sup> The resistance to shared habitation seemingly contradicts the racial amalgamation policies of the New Zealand Company, which, as Damon Salesa puts it, was meant to provide for “everyday opportunities for social and sexual intercourse.” I’m not sure how to reconcile this idea with the settler practice of excluding Māori from hotels and lodging houses, other than to suggest that soft racism among townspeople led them to place limits on racial amalgamation’s reach. Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 31, 54; Angela Wanhalla, *Invisible Sight: The Mixed Descent Families of Southern New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2008), 88. As late as 1938, a survey of Hamilton hoteliers and boarding-house keepers found 26 out of 27 of them refused to accommodate Māori (*Auckland Star*, 23 September, 1935, 8).

<sup>6</sup> Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 22–23.

<sup>7</sup> By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is some evidence that restrictions on Māori staying in boarding houses and hotels were easing, but prejudice still existed. See, for example, *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July, 1916, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Schrader, *Big Smoke*, 190–200.

<sup>9</sup> Michael J. Stevens, “Kā Whare Māori ki Awarua: Bluff’s ‘Māori Houses,’” in *Te Karaka*, 31 March, 2017 (accessed 15 November, 2017), [http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our\\_stories/tk73-ka-whare-maori-ki-awarua-bluffs-maori-houses](http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/tk73-ka-whare-maori-ki-awarua-bluffs-maori-houses)

<sup>10</sup> Grace Karskens, *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 16–17; Coll Thrush and William Cronon, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing Over* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 41–42, 70; Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 97.

<sup>11</sup> Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, 131–33.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 125–30; Penelope Edmonds, “Unpacking Settler Colonialism’s Urban Strategies: Indigenous Peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, and Transition to a Settler-Colonial City,” *Urban History Review* 38, no. 2 (2010): 6–8; David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World: Images and Perceptions of the Nineteenth Century Urban Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 93. In the New Zealand context, Ballantyne notes that programmes for the improvement of Māori were important in constructing colonial authority and rationalizing colonization. In eliminating practices that were holding Māori back they were “making New Zealand modern.” Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 241.

<sup>13</sup> For further discussion on white city discourses in New Zealand, see Schrader, *Big Smoke*, 180–83.

<sup>14</sup> Jacqueline Peterson, “The Founding Fathers: The Absorption of French-Indian Chicago, 1816–1837,” in Terry Straus, ed, *Native Chicago* (New York: Albatross Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2002), 76; Kurt M. Peters, “Indians on the Chicago Landscape 1870,” in Straus, *Native Chicago*, 111; Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, 138–40; Edmonds, “Unpacking Settler Colonialism’s Urban Strategies,” 12, 15; Thrush, *Native Seattle*, 54, 83; William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 27–29.

- <sup>15</sup> For example, about 600 Te Āti Awa people left Wellington for Taranaki in 1848. In 1871, the *Evening Post* reported that the Ngāti Haumia chief Hemi Parai and nine others were leaving Wellington's Te Aro pā for his Taranaki lands. Parai had been living in Te Whanganui a Tara (Wellington) since at least 1835, when Te Aro pā was ceded to him by Wiremu Pomare of Ngāti Mutunga. He must have had some regrets about leaving. *Evening Post*, 19 August, 1871, 2; Morris Love, "Te Āti Awa of Wellington—After 1840," Te Ara, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/page-5> (accessed 3 Dec 2017); Angela Ballara, "Pomare, Wiremu Piti," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p22/pomare-wiremu-piti> (accessed 3 Dec 2017).
- <sup>16</sup> Edmonds, "Unpacking Settler Colonialism's Urban Strategies," 12; Thrush, *Native Seattle*, 42–43.
- <sup>17</sup> Schrader, *Big Smoke*, 202–12.
- <sup>18</sup> Wakatu Incorporation and Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust, "Submission to the Local Government and Environment Select Committee on the Public Works (Offer Back of Land and Compensation for Acquired Land) Amendment Bill," PW/18, 2009, Sections 6–9 (accessed 3 December, 2017), <https://www.parliament.nz/resource/0000103524>
- <sup>19</sup> William Stanton, "Aborigines," MS-Papers-7229, Alexander Turnbull Library, cited in Hillary and John Mitchell, "Auckland Point Market," theProw.org.nz, (accessed 15 November, 2015), [http://www.theprow.org.nz/auckland-point-market/#.Ua\\_P6-CCjnY](http://www.theprow.org.nz/auckland-point-market/#.Ua_P6-CCjnY)
- <sup>20</sup> Edwin Hodder, *Memories of New Zealand Life* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1863), 31.
- <sup>21</sup> Michael Belgrave, Grant Young, and Anna Deason, *Tipaka Moana and Auckland's Tribal Cross Currents: The Enduring Customary Interests of Ngati Paoa, Ngati Maru, Ngati Whanaunga, Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Tai in Auckland* (Auckland: Hauraki Maori Trust Board and the Marutuahu Confederation, 2006), 142.
- <sup>22</sup> *New Zealander*, 27 February, 1850, 2.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 9 September, 1848, 3.
- <sup>25</sup> The site was near the intersection of Parnell Rise and Stanley Street. "Endowment for Native Hostelry, Auckland," Colonial Secretary's Office, Auckland, 12 May 1851, *New Zealand Gazette*, NZETC
- <sup>26</sup> The use of flax for bedding in the hostelry comes from a later report (*Hawkes' Bay Herald*, 14 April, 1894, 3). It may be that fern was used or visitors brought their own whāriki (mat) to sleep on before then.
- <sup>27</sup> *Maori Messenger*, 22 November, 1849, 1; *New Zealander*, 27 February, 1850, 2.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 9 March, 1852, 2.
- <sup>30</sup> *Auckland Star*, 29 September, 1944, 3.
- <sup>31</sup> Petrie, "Māori Enterprise," 35.
- <sup>32</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 9 July, 1932, Supplement, 1.
- <sup>33</sup> J. A. Askew, *A Voyage to Australia and New Zealand* (London: Simpkin Marshall and Co, 1857), 339.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 353–54.
- <sup>35</sup> Nugent to Colonial Secretary, 18 August, 1852, Maori Affairs Department, series 4, Outward Letterbooks, 1840–1916, Micro R6541, Archives New Zealand.
- <sup>36</sup> *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 20 September, 1856, 3.
- <sup>37</sup> Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 30–31; Schrader, *Big Smoke*, 165–67.
- <sup>38</sup> H. Tracy Kemp, "Notes, Taken Under the Direction of Government, Embracing Statistical Returns in connection with the Native Population ... Report No.1, Port Nicolson District, 1 January 1850," *Government Gazette*, 21 August, 1850, republished in *Wellington Independent*, 31 August, 1850, 5.
- <sup>39</sup> William Fox, *Report on the Settlement of Nelson in New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849), 21.
- <sup>40</sup> *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 25 July, 1856, 306.
- <sup>41</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 July, 1928, 17.
- <sup>42</sup> Anne Else, "Adoption—Māori and Colonial Adoption," Te Ara, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/26045/ngatau-omahuru-the-fox-boy> (accessed 6 October,

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2017). Peter Walker's 2001 novel, *The Fox Boy* included an imaginary depiction of Ngātau's stay in the hostel.

<sup>43</sup> "Under-Secretary, Defence Office [Wellington] Received: 2 October 1871 Subject Native Hostelry visited by Sergeant Henshaw and report thereon," P1 21, [151], Archives New Zealand.

<sup>44</sup> "[Native Secretary] From: Richard Booth, Wellington Received: 11 August 1871 Subject: Complains of irregularities in the Native Hostelry under his care" P1 22, [39], NS1871/1193, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>45</sup> Clive Aspen, "Hōkakatanga—Māori sexualities—Early Māori sexuality," Te Ara, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/hokakatanga-maori-sexualities/page-2> (accessed 2 October, 2017).

<sup>46</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 July, 1928, 25.

<sup>47</sup> This supposition is perhaps too much to pin on one source, but neither is beyond the realm of possibility.

<sup>48</sup> "Potiki, et al. to Superintendent—Petition from Natives of Otago for Erection of Hostelry for their Accommodation in Dunedin," 6 November, 1854, AAAC 707 D500 126/B No137, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>49</sup> *Otago Colonist*, 1857 (no date other than year), cited in Maarie Goodall and George Griffiths, *Maori Dunedin* (Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1980), 24.

<sup>50</sup> "C. W. Richmond, Colonial Treasurer to Superintendent—As to Erecting a Hostelry for Natives at Dunedin," 22 November, 1858, AAAC 706 D500 124/B No58, Archives New Zealand; Waitangi Tribunal, "Princes Street Reserve," *The Ngai Tahu Report* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1991) 7.3.1-7.3.7; *Otago Daily Times*, 15 November, 1882, 2.

<sup>51</sup> "Certificate by Mr Thomson that Maori Hostelry Completed," Archives Ref 2/2/2/7/B, and "Specification of Work to be Executed in Building Maori Hostelry Dunedin," 8 December, 1858, Archives Ref 2/2/2/2/A, Toitu Otago Settlers Museum.

<sup>52</sup> This conclusion is speculative, but it seems very likely. In the lead-up to the hostelry being built, the *Otago Witness* had complained that the city's "most valuable public site" was being taken for a Maori hostelry. Following the hostelry's demolition, an opulent new post office was built on the site (later The Exchange). *Otago Witness*, 30 November, 1859, 6; Goodall and Griffiths, *Maori Dunedin*, 26; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report*, 7.3.7.

<sup>53</sup> "Session 14—Petition—Maori population: That a hostelry be provided for their use—12 Dec 1860," CAAR 20410 CH287/CP 598/k, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>54</sup> I would like to thank Michael J. Stevens for alerting me to this petition. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, "Matiaha Tiramōrehu: The First Formal Statement of Ngāi Tahu Grievances Against the Crown," 22 October, 2017, [http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our\\_stories/matiaha-tiramorehu-the-first-formal-statement-of-ngai-tahu-grievances-against-the-crown](http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/matiaha-tiramorehu-the-first-formal-statement-of-ngai-tahu-grievances-against-the-crown) (accessed 3 December, 2017).

<sup>55</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 19 December, 1860, 2, and 26 December, 1860, 4; William A Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (Bascands, Christchurch, 1952), 51.

<sup>56</sup> *Lyttelton Times*, 17 November, 1863, 4; 2 February, 1865, 4; 13 July, 1878, 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Observer*, 7 January, 1882, 259.

<sup>58</sup> "Native Office Under-Secretary to Town Clerk, 3 Mar 1880, Native Minister, unable to grant the use of native hostelry," Ref 00233:4:1880/2840, Wellington City Archives.

<sup>59</sup> "From Superintendent Shearman ... already stored," 5 March 1880, Ref P1 110, 1880/697, Archives New Zealand; *New Zealand Times*, 17 July, 1880, 3.

<sup>60</sup> Photographic evidence of the area suggests it was demolished between 1889 and 1905. See "Thorndon, Wellington, 1888," ID ½-004075-G, and "Part 3, Panorama overlooking Thorndon, 1905," PA Coll-1781-001.

<sup>61</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui A Tara Me Ona Tawika, Report on the Wellington District*, Wai 145 (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2003), 338–42.

<sup>62</sup> *Wanganui Herald*, 17 March, 1908, 4.

<sup>63</sup> *Dominion*, 15 August, 1908, 8.

<sup>64</sup> *Evening Post*, 12 September, 1935, 25.

<sup>65</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 9 August, 1888, 2ff.

<sup>66</sup> "Regulations for the Management of the Maori Hostelry at Nelson," poster, circa 1920, MAW1369 4, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>67</sup> "District Manager to Public Trustee," 25 November, 1919, MAW1369 4, Archives New Zealand. 38 *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS25 (2017), 16-39

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<sup>68</sup> Hillary and John Mitchell have stated that “appalling conditions” existed in the hostelry. I have not been able to research this aspect, but it might have been a reason for its closure. Wakatu Incorporation, “Submission to the Local Government,” Section 9.

<sup>69</sup> Under the Auckland Native Hostelry Act 1889, the Public Trustee was made responsible for the management of Waipapa and its reserve lands, the profits from which were to be periodically paid to Civil List for Native Purposes. “Auckland Native Hostelry Act 1889,” copy in AAMK W3074 869 Box 1118/a, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>70</sup> For an account of the market see Schrader, *Big Smoke*, 183–88.

<sup>71</sup> “V. H. Devally to Native Department Under-Secretary,” 31 October, 1890, AAMK W3074 869 Box 1118/a, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>72</sup> “C. R. Vukeman to Under-Secretary for Public Works,” 23 August, 1895, *ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> “E. F. Warren to Under-Secretary of Justice,” 13 Sept 1898; E. F Warren to Auckland District Agent, 31 August, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> “Public Trustee to Auckland District Agent,” 28 November, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> “E. F. Warren to Public Trustee,” 9 December, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> The statements were taken by an interpreter, Katerina Nikorima, who says she read each person’s statement back to them to ensure they were correct. “Hohua Parekowhai’s Statement,” no date, included in “E. F. Warren to Public Trustee,” 9 December, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> “Lottie Hou’s Statement,” 9 December, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> “Rawinia Mihaka’s Statement,” 9 December, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> “Joseph Thorpe Statement,” 7 December, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> “E. F. Warren to Public Trustee,” 9 December, 1901, *ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> “E. F. Warren to Public Trustee,” 3 January, 1902, and 17 January, 1902, AAMK W3074 869 Box 1118/c, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>82</sup> The building was designed by R. Keals and Son and cost £666 (equivalent to \$116,000 in 2017). “E. F. Warren to Public Trustee,” no date, but circa 1902, and “District Agent to Public Trustee,” 9 October, 1903, *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> “Public Trustee to District Agent,” 22 September, 1903, and “District Agent to Retimana Poroumati,” 26 September, 1903, *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> “District Agent to Public Trustee,” 2 May, 1903; 9 May, 1908; and 15 July, 1908, AAMK W3074 869 Box 1118/b, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>85</sup> “District Agent to Public Trustee,” 15 July, 1908, *ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> There are other Waipapa files in Archives New Zealand, running from 1924 to 1947, but these have restricted access. I was therefore unable to look at them.

<sup>88</sup> *Christchurch Star*, 16 February, 1909, 2.

<sup>89</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July, 1916, 1.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 10 September, 1938, 10.

<sup>92</sup> *Auckland Star*, 29 September, 1944, 3.

<sup>93</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 30 August, 1955, 18.

<sup>94</sup> A. F. G., “Historic Maori Hostelry Pulled Down,” *Journal of the Auckland Historical Society* 9 (October 1966): 12.

<sup>95</sup> Belgrave, Young, and Deason, *Tikapa Moana*, 155.

<sup>96</sup> Penelope Edmonds makes the pertinent point that monuments to Indigenous people in former settler colonial cities overwhelmingly commemorate pre-colonial sites, “thus firmly placing Indigenous peoples in the pre-historical pre-modern side of the traditional/modern divide.” Colonial sites where Indigenous people exerted agency in urban space are less often marked. There are many unrecognised sites in New Zealand’s cities where this happened, including those where Native hostelries once stood. Pou and other modes of interpretation at these places could expose their hidden histories. Edmonds, “Unpacking Settler Colonialism’s Urban Strategies,” 16.

<sup>97</sup> Schrader, *Big Smoke*, 200.

<sup>98</sup> Its future is uncertain. Stevens describes the building as being at the end of its functional life. Stevens, “Kā Whare Māori ki Awarua.”